

"The Labour Leader is, by all odds, the handsomest Labour Paper that has yet come under my notice."
THOMAS G. SHIPPY.
Dumfries, S.S.

The Labour Leader

"The Labour Leader is the most successful effort in Labour journalism yet made."
J. HOSKINSON
Barnsley.

A WEEKLY RECORD OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.

Edited by
KEIR HARDIE.

Come, youths, in your vigour; come, men, in your prime;
Come, age, with experience fresh gathered from time;
Come workers, you're welcome; come, thinkers, you must
Come thick as the clouds in the midsummer dust.
Or the waves of the sea gleaming bright in the sun
There's a truth to be told, and a cause to be won.
—Gavin Mackay.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

18th JULY.

A Word with the Northern Pitmen.

By THE EDITOR.

The first article of a series, specially
written for the *Labour Leader*, commences
this week, entitled

LIFE AND DEATH IN THE COALFIELDS.

THE FIRST ARTICLE DEALS WITH MICKLE-
FIELD; A DESOLATE VILLAGE; £15,000
SUBSIDISED; WHAT WILL BECOME OF THE
MONEY, WIDOWS, AND ORPHANS?

The Durham Miners' Gala Day is on July
18th, when the *Labour Leader* will be on
sale. Will readers willing to aid send their
names at once to the Glasgow Office.

STRICTLY LONDON.

By MARXIAN.

ON Sir Hercules Robinson, the £153
a week Governor of Cape Colony, de-
parting for England, that very know-
ing journal, the *Natal Witness*, de-
votedly came out with the headline,
"Thank God he's going." But Mr.
Chamberlain—his punishing face is
getting more deeply lined and his hair
shows grey at last—has never visited
South Africa, and he sees in Sir Her-
cules a kindred victim, or intended
victim, of the great Rhodesian stroke
of state. Thus, with melancholy faith-
fulness, the Colonial Secretary who
knew nothing of the raid, sticks by the
Cape Governor who knew nothing of
the raid. That is the meaning of
Joe's answer to Willie Redmond that
Sir Hercules "expects to return to
South Africa"—an answer received in
chilling silence by his own side. I
wonder whether Aylward, the ex-
Fenian and ex-editor of the *Natal
Witness*, still acts as military secretary
to the Transvaal Government?

My own impression happens to be
that Joseph, strong as he is, cannot
possibly save the ignorant and incom-
petent Robinsonian demigod. But
while a shaven apparition—said to be
the son of a bishop, out of a person's
daughter—dwelt pathetically on the
starvation wages paid to Christians in
the Gloucester—no, on the Turkish
oppression of Christians in Otrero,
nearly two thousand miles from Glou-
cester, I buttonholed Mr. George
Whiteley, senior member for Stock-
port, and adjourned to the depths of the
smoke-room.

You will recollect Mr. Whiteley
had, the previous Wednesday evening,
forcibly told the Government that
their Agricultural Rating Bill is not
a democratic measure, and that it will
conserve nothing—not even their own
seats in the House of Commons. A
significant sign of the blindness of
victory is that a triumphant political
party, drawing its nascent strength
from the urban districts, should toler-
ate a Cabinet composed almost entirely
of landowners. Chamberlain, Ritchie,
and Goschen represent the only
business element in the Cabinet. The
other sixteen men belong, more or less
exclusively, to the landlord and land-
lord class; and Goschen tries hard to
forget he has ever done anything less
dignified than accept rents from his
profit-purchased estate at Hawkhurst.



BEFORE.
The condition of the worker before Free
Trade.

But the most amazing blindness of all
is indicated in the attitude of recent-
ment assumed towards Mr. Whiteley
when he honestly endeavours to wake
up his leaders to the facts of the
situation.

Whatever Mr. Chaplin may think
—if, indeed, that gentleman possess
the physical basis of thought—Mr.
Whiteley, with several other Conserva-
tives who have not Mr. Whiteley's
courage, remains firmly convinced that
the pledges and prospects of the
Unionist party are not confirmed by
riotously forcing through the House of
Commons a Bill taking ten millions
sterling from the ratepayers of towns
such as Stockport and handing over
the money to distressed peers and
squires whose exertions in the battle
of life have been confined to signing
receipts for rent. Mind you, these are
not Mr. Whiteley's words. But be-
neath his courteous reserve and anxiety
not to injure his political friends I
could read a good deal.

Alert Conservatives of Mr. White-
ley's stamp are far more dangerous
enemies to the L.L.P. than your aver-
age backbones, pledge-breaking
Radicals. Therefore I warn the
Socialist candidate who fights Stock-
port that Mr. Whiteley will take some
beating. We can scarcely hope to
capture the two seats there. In the

other large towns the Agricultural
Rating Bill may help us a little. At
Stockport no.

Climbing upstairs, I listened to
Willie Redmond, then wearing a dark
crimson flower in his coat, slating Mr.
George Curzon on the Boudan expedi-
tion. Money was being voted, so, of
course, but few members were present.
Colonel Lockwood, a gorgeous figure,
shone almost alone on the rear Minis-
terial benches. And the snappish
Curzon traveller was quite alone on
the front bench until "Prime Minis-
ter" Brodriek joined him and dexter-
ously showed Mr. Redmond the sole
of the Brodriekian right boot. Later
on Balfour drops in. Joe had left,
but now he returns—and chats with
young Curzon. All eyes centre upon
Joe—the man whose contempt for his
colleagues has attained Satanic propor-
tions. Seldom is Joe seen in the
House at so late an hour. No; he
doesn't speak. Balfour speaks. There
has been a running fire from E. J. C.
Morton—a comical-looking little mon-
key who studies the *Labour Leader*—
and from Mr. Dalsiel, following up
the younger Redmond's attack. As
Sir William Harcourt is not present,
Dalsiel naturally takes the reins.
Government refuse anything more in-
structive than a statement that when
the troops get to Dongola they will
not retreat—if they can help it.

And so on, and so on, the money at
last being voted—a paltry item of
£50,000 or £60,000, including Lord
Salisbury's £5000 salary. Outside,
cabs rattle through Whitehall and
Parliament Street, conveying M.P.s
and revellers homeward. Low on the
horizon swings the moon, the uncanny
shadow of the planet of pain distinctly
visible on part of her surface. Up-
ward, outward, and downward, in
every direction, plunge and rise the
unending abysses of Space. I am but
a creature of lust and ambition, like
the rest. Yet, in the summer night,
I feel the meanness, the foolishness,
the inhumanity of the struggle for
fraternity, and falsehood pursued around
me amid an environment so majestic
and so awful. However, Lord Salis-
bury has got his salary.

Either you are working for Socialism
or you are wasting your life. The
cruel development of modern industry
leaves you no escape from this dil-
emma. You must work for Socialism
or you must waste your life. And on
every wind of the heavens a wasted
life goes by. I have ceased to grieve
over them. I regard them as a victo-
rious soldier regards the corpses of
those flying recruits who might
have been his comrades in triumph.
Shut your Christian ears to the deep,
inarticulate cry of the beleaguered
people, and when you shut your hands
in the death you dread, you shall take
hold of the terror of naked Space.
Nothing shall you clasp in those dead
hands save the daring service you have
rendered to the children of men.
Happy be he whose hands are full:
who has not been afraid, nor hidden
his talent in the earth.

Faster pelt the cabs and the last
beleagued omnibus. The weird, shadowed
"maiden with white fire laden" glints
on the massive, mullioned strength of
the Abbey. That wondrous tracery
was not the product of a profitmonger-
ing age. And the lives of stout

Stephen Langton and Hubert, who
"saved Dover from France," were not
jerry-built lives. This present age is
the age of the jerry-builder. And its
typical Westminster products are the
sainted Monks of Gloucester, the
Morleys of Montrose, and the heroic
Joiceys and Tomlinsons.

What about Tomlinson of Berkeley
Square?

Although I said the Ridley-Collings
Coal Mines Bill will pass, it is more
than likely first to be totally eviscerated
in the interests of the coalowners.
The real and important Coal Mines
Bill is the one drafted to meet the
views of the trade unions, and is in
Sir Charles Dilke's charge. This
latter Bill was ordered by the House
of Commons to be printed last Febru-
ary. It can be obtained through any
bookseller for 2½d. Get it for your-
self. There is not the slightest chance
of the Government offering any facili-
ties for its passage into law. I some-
times think the *Daily Chronicle* con-
fuses the two Bills. Dilke's Bill means
business. Ridley's is a quintessential
bit of bluff.

Curious rumours reach me respect-
ing the Government Bill dealing with
the Army Reserve. It will be
dropped in a hurry, as no Minister
has the courage to face the desperate
hash into which our army system has
drifted. Practically there are no
army reserves and very little militia.
In the event of war, the Volunteer
force would be under orders for active
service, or we should resort at once to
conscription. An expedition to the
Transvaal or the Boudan would use up
all our available soldiers. Who gets
the bulk of the £26,000,000 expended
annually on England's land forces?



AND AFTER.

Yet he is asked to celebrate its Jubilee.

Perhaps Mr. Charles Williams will
investigate the matter. It would be
fully as interesting to the taxpayer as
his descriptions of the Russian coronation.
His unpublished descriptions,
I mean.

Bewildered by the mass of fiction
created to conceal the connection be-
tween Krugerdorp and Dongola, the
lying of Ministers grows daily more
and more inartistic. Close upon Mr.
Curzon's lying assurance—"This is
not a British expedition, but an Egyp-
tian expedition"—rose Lord George
Hamilton's demand that the cost of
troops to help the aid Egyptian ex-
pedition be borne by the starving
helots of our rule in India. I wish
Hyndman had been in the House to
criticise the proposal and the knaves

who put it forward. And I wish Mr.
Vaughan Nash, of the *Daily Chronicle*,
had studied coal mines as thoroughly
as Hyndman has studied the Indian
question. On a technical point in the
Trade Union Bill, Mr. Nash upholds
one view and the miners adopt another.
Therefore, says Mr. Nash, the Bill is
"defective." Perhaps it is. Perhaps
not.

Debating, last Tuesday night, the
tax of fourpence contributed by each
purchaser of a pound of tea, Mr.
Logan, the stalwart member for a
Leicestershire division, actually uttered
sound economics in the House of
Commons. "What is the object of
this tax?" queried Logan, with a
brusque vigour that nearly woke Mr.
Hanbury. "It is," went on the man
from Leicestershire, "to save the
pockets of those persons who pay direct
taxation. Yes; where do I get the
money to pay my income-tax? I get it
from the wages of my workman. What
right have I to shift a tax on to
them as well?" And the Logan man
—he is a man, too—mustered a tiny
band to vote against the fourpence.

Marxian must interview that Logan
man.

Please note that a reference in an
earlier paragraph to Mr. E. J. C.
Morton is entirely affectionate. The
grand style in which he bows to the
Speaker constitutes so liberal and
radical an education that I would not
offend Mr. Morton for worlds of bread
and butter. And Sir Hercules Robin-
son has a consolation coronet. That's
all.

The Cabinet and Party Politics. By W.
E. Snell (London: Bliss, Blands & Foster).
This is a series of papers dealing with a
big topic. Under such headings as "The
Problem," "The Public Service," "Political
Ethics," "Representation," and "The
Remedy," Mr. Snell manages to
deal with the absurd anomalies which
to-day take the place of administrative
government. He claims urgency for the
question, and sums up his conclusions in
the following proposal: "Let government
servants be excluded from Parliament, and
let each government department be closely
supervised by a Parliamentary committee.
Those wanting to know the best that can
be said for this reform should consult the
book itself.

*Democratic Readings from the World's
Great Teachers.* Compiled and edited by W.
M. Thompson, L.O.C. (London: John
Dicks, 1s.). The idea underlying this
compilation is good, the execution far
from perfect. In the selections from the
great religious teachers it is notable, and
regrettable, that wherever a sentence cap-
able of a laudacious or dirty meaning could
be found it has been dragged into a pro-
minent place. It is an insult to the com-
mon people to couple them with a love of
the purulent, and this feature spoils what
would otherwise have been a work of much
value.

*The Report of the Fourth Annual Confer-
ence of the L.L.P.: Preparing for the Twen-
tieth Century.* By Bruce Wallace, M.A.,
and the Commonwealth, have been received.
The latter contains an excellent likeness
of John Ruskin. It presents the old
man's face in quite a new light. Canon
Scott Holland writes the accompanying
note in a very sympathetic vein. The
article on the "Revolt against Machinery,"
by John A. Hobson, will be eagerly
welcomed by all engaged in combating
old-world ideas on machinery.

See our enlarged editions of 1st and 2nd August
for description account of the International Con-
gress, by special correspondents, and illustrated
by our own artist. Make sure of getting these
numbers and order early.

Between Ourselves.



WHAT ARE YOU "STANDING ON"?

A young wife stood with her head on her brow,
And looked around the little room;
"Nothing but tall for ever," she said,
"From early morn till the light has fled.
If you were only a merchant now,
We need not live by the sweat of our brow!"
Fearing away, spoke shoemaker John—
"We've no use well what we're standing on."

A lady stood by her husband's chair,
And quietly passed her hand o'er his hair;
"You never have time for me now," she said,
"And a tear-drip fall on his low-browed head.
If we were only rich, my dear,
With nothing to do from year to year,
But sit and chat—Oh, dear me,
What a happy woman I should be!"
Looking up from his ledger spoke merchant John,
"We've no use well what we're standing on."

A stately form in velvet dressed,
A diamond gleaming on her breast;
"Nothing but tall for ever," she said,
"Till I sometimes wish that I were dead.
Oh, could I but find this wealth sold,
And once more be the poor man's bride!"
From his easy chair spoke gentleman John—
"We've no use well what we're standing on."

GORDON HOLBROOK writes: I have no wish to encroach on the province of the able gentlemen who give us our "Notes from Abroad" every week, but perhaps I may be allowed to call attention to the view taken by the *Times* correspondent of the political situation in one of the Continental countries. In speaking of the elections which by the time this is read will have been decided in Belgium, the *Times* of last Saturday says:

There are three rival lists of candidates—the Liberals, the Clericals, and the united Progressives and Collectivists—who call themselves the Democratic Alliance. Some apprehensions are entertained that there may be fresh concessions to the ranks of the Socialists, who, to the number of thirty-six, already occupy the left bench of the Chamber. But if the first results of the voting should be favourable to them, it is certain that the second ballot will turn the scale in the direction of the Conservatives, for whom all the deservings of the Liberal party would be in preference to giving their support to their ancient allies, the democrats, who have gone over to the Collectivists.

This is what the *Times* anticipates. Now see what it says of this clerical régime which the fervent Liberals of Belgium would help to support:

But because the Clerical régime proves the most enduring, it must not therefore be inferred that it is the most conducive to the advancement of the nation. A review of the labours of the last session shows that a consistently retrograde policy has marked its administration throughout. It is true that many radical reforms have been promised—but, so far, none of these promises have been performed. The national debt has been augmented by half a milliard of francs, and the Exchequer is at its lowest ebb.

And now to see how the *Times* accounts for Liberals supporting such a misgovernment as this:

It may vote for them who are not in sympathy with their policy it is simply because they believe that the clerical influence is a more efficacious safeguard against the ever-spreading wave of Socialism than the doctrinaire theories or Progressive concessions.

(Our readers, if there are any non-Socialists among them, should note that this is the difference between Belgium and England. Over here the Liberals still think that "progressive concessions" are the best Mrs. Parnington's mop to wield against the wave of Socialism—that's why they give such concessions. For no other reason what-so-ever.)

And now what does the *Times* correspondent think of this dreadful Socialist party in Belgium? He says:

It is only fair, however, to state that in the actual programme of reforms drawn up by the Labour party there is not only little to justify the socialistic theories but that in several instances they refer to measures which have already been enforced by law and public opinion in England.

So there is nothing so dreadful after all. The whole article is very instructive as showing (1) that the fight of the Socialists will eventually have to be directed against a Clerical-Conservative party, bolstered up by Liberal runagates; and (2) that the whole world over our enemies shake at the bare name of Socialism, whatever the merits of Socialist proposals.

(Perhaps the article is also of interest because it proves that the stock of non-Socialists sufficiently well educated to be *Times* correspondents is running low, so that the poor old paper is at last giving way to the inevitable, and allowing ordinary sane men to write its foreign news.)

Tragedy? Yes, and plenty of it. Try this:

The other week we had an old man drowned himself under very sad circumstances. He had been out of work and let a few weeks' rent run on, and the agent got an eviction order out. The poor fellow could not get work, and he left his home on the morning, taking his two young children to one of his sons, and destroyed his life. And when he was found his son took him to his home, only to find all the furniture turned into the street. The agent will go to church and say "Our Father."

Light comedy? Very well, sample this:

(From *Cunningham Graham, Esq.*)
Gartmore, near Montclair,
February 4, 1901.

Dear Mr. Craibe Angus,—I am glad to hear that it is proposed to hold an exhibition in Glasgow of police and soldiers of Burns (Robert, not John). I would seem that after the countless exhibitions of everything of the most frightful kind that the ingenuity of man has imagined which have been held in Glasgow to my regret of the constant and gratuitous exhibitions always open of what civilization can do in the frigate—that an exhibition of some interest to some human being should be held. A chaff-outter, a patent mangle, and an automatic pencilholder are no doubt good things in their place, though you will, I doubt not, pardon me for venturing to think that hell is the place most suited to them. An exhibition which of necessity will chiefly be composed of books will be a novelty in Glasgow. That it may have a civilizing and a humanizing influence upon those whose eyes are debauched by the too frequent contemplation of the aforementioned mangle and patent mangle is my earnest wish. I should add especially when well housed, kitted, and on good legs; but these are toys, delightful, no doubt, to men of culture and skilled craftsmen who produced them; the essential is the book, and, after all, Burns needs no fine feathers. Still though, I do not think that Burns would like to condemn his works to the "Habit" of the post to which, when alive, society not unreasonably condemned him, to mark its disapprobation of contemporary genius. As the breed of poets seems scarce just now in Britain, and as the fashion is still even in Scotland amongst many to speak of Burns as a sort of poor, misguided, inspired idiot, this exhibition is, I think, unlike most other exhibitions, called for, if only to show that in Glasgow a man can be held in honour who never made money, and devoted some part of his talents to the affairs of the Infernal post.—Yours very truly,

R. B. CUNNINGHAM GRAHAM.

That must suffice for a week. The summons is returnable for Tuesday, and there is much to be done.

KIRK.

KILBURN'S STRIKE SETTLED.—Kilburn's flax-dressers' dispute, referred to in the *Leader* of last week and week previous, has been settled by Messrs. J. & W. Knox accepting the men's terms.

YORKSHIRE MINERS AND TRADES CONGRESS.—The Rylands Main miners have forwarded the following resolution to Yorkshire Miners' Association: "That the delegates to the forthcoming Trades Union Congress shall support the nationalization of the land, and means of production, distribution, and exchange."

TOWLE'S PILLS

QUICKLY CURE ALL IRREGULARITIES, REMOVE ALL OBSTRUCTIONS, and relieve the distressing symptoms so prevalent with the sex. Over 100,000 bottles have been sold since the quantity of all Chloretics, or will be sent where, on receipt of 15 or 24 stamps, by the value of 27. TOWLE'S Chloretics, or will be sent where, on receipt of 15 or 24 stamps, by the value of 27. TOWLE'S Chloretics, or will be sent where, on receipt of 15 or 24 stamps, by the value of 27.

A BOOKISH CAUSERIE.

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

How the Devil was Made, etc. Rev. Dennis Hird, M.A. 1s. and 2s. (Glasgow Wilson, 20 Paternoster Row, E.C.)



Looked at in one way, the dualism which is unconsciously revealed in the antagonistic conceptions of God and the devil, of good and evil, is itself a sign of insanity: and the pitiable persistence with which men have clung to the terroristic creed defines the enormous distance they have fallen from the grace of harmony.

The fact that the author of this brave book is a Church of England clergyman is enough to give it importance. That the four articles which compose it were originally intended as sermons is of still greater importance. Most significant of all is the fact that the author has suffered persecution from people of every class for having dared to call into question the infallibility of the Bible and the Church. However, the Rev. Dennis Hird is quite capable of taking care of himself. He has an able pen and a style which for downright simplicity approaches Ruakin's "Fors Clavigera."

What is more, he has an argument which is unassailable, and I for one should not divert energy for his defence. His original purpose of preaching these sermons was frustrated by the horror-stricken natives of Eastnor, who feared that in discussing the Bible on any other lines than those laid down by the Church he was endangering "the faith of the working man." Their consideration for the working man's faith was very touching; but I doubt not it has strained at the gnat and swallowed a camel. These lectures will, I hope, circulate widely, and certainly they will have a wider field of influence now than the narrow, dogmatic corner of inconspicuous Eastnor could have given them. For so much we may be grateful to "Lady E. R."

'Twas ever thus. While George Meredith is warning us in the *Daily Chronicle* of the perils which England runs in scorning "the brain's wild search for virtuous light," and our persons and teachers and writers are insisting on the importance of being earnest about "the eternal verities," "people of high character and noble purpose use such arguments as these: 'You will blast your professional career.' 'Do not quarrel with your bread and butter.' 'It is a serious responsibility to destroy the faith of the working man.'"

"Destroy the faith of the working man, forsooth! Which faith? When I see a man toiling from daylight to dark always, living without a noble thought, never reading the Bible or any book with a glorious aspiration in it, dividing his Sundays between admiration of the pig and slandering his neighbours, never entering church for twenty years (not counting weddings and funerals), and then when he is so ill as to be scarcely conscious his friends think the *parson* is paid to come and square the next world, and administer holy communion, and finally bury him 'in auro and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life'! I confess frankly that I do not want to destroy that man's faith! I would rather give him the shock of the blankest, cruelest truth than stand smiling by whilst he goes his swinish shuffle through life, till his funeral frauds a part of the universal parish fraud." Such is our comrade's answer

to the tender considerations of "those who would bolster up the present anarchy by ignorance. For the truth of his picture of rural religion, which is limited to Sunday show, I can vouch: and if discussion of the devil and all his works could avail anything to destroy a faith which is no faith, I, with the Rev. Dennis Hird, would impugn the historical accuracy of the Bible, deny the existence of the devil, and declare Jesus a Socialist.

But it seems to me that mere discussions of the mistakes about and in the Bible, or even of the creation of man and the devil, can serve little useful purpose. They embitter at least as many as they help, and their direction, though probably unintentional, is that resistance to evil which is the beginning of evil. I entirely agree—and most Socialists will—with the intention of the author. If there were even a figurative percentage of persons who would be as true to themselves in scorn of consequences as the Rev. Dennis Hird, England would be a better England, and "Lady E. R." might not be so applauded. But, after all, as hatred cannot but be hatred at any time, but by love, so the old bogies and fetiches which still terrify the ignorant are not to be dissolved into "everlasting blue mist" by skillful analysis and the obliquity of logic, but by the substitution of light for the darkness they inhabit. Let the parsons preach love, not Biblical criticism—eternal harmony, not scientific evolution. The devil is the correlative of God. While the conception of one lasts, so long will the conception of the other endure. Carpenter, in "The Secret of Time and Satan," has some deep meanings expressed. God and Satan are one. It was the first breath of cosmic economy which created the duality, and it is back to unity that mankind must travel by slow, painful, conscious steps.

Let the persons hold up their eyes to the goal. The Rev. Dennis Hird is a pioneer. His book, which I can cordially recommend to comrades, and which can be had from Publishing Department, *Labour Leader* office, 66 Brunswick Street, Glasgow, is the good which cometh out of Nazareth, and I could only desire that even the Rev. Dr. Earle, whom the Bishop of London has recently pitchforked into the rectory of St. Botolph Without, with a salary of £3000 a year, may be encouraged to go and do likewise.

A. R. O.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Mrs. LEONARD HALL AND CHILDREN FUND.
No. 1 Group Derby L.P. Collection, £20 3 6
Cheesman and Lacey, " 0 0 0
Ilkington L.P.—Col. at "Harry Corner, " 0 0 7

NORTH ANHERDSON ELECTION FUND.
Previously acknowledged, £20 0 0
South Manchester L.P., " 10 0 0
Warrington L.P., " 0 0 0
B. Lancaster, Newcastle, " 0 0 0
Sunderland L.P., " 0 0 0
G. Rone Hall, " 1 0 0
Total to 7th July, £204 1 0

RUSSIAN STRIKE FUND.
For "LABOUR LEADER."
Previously acknowledged, £21 11 8
Alexander Maddox, Glasgow, " 0 0 0
David Jack, Kirkcaldy, " 0 0 0
B. Lancaster, Newcastle, " 0 0 0
Three Frequenters Winding Road, Coonah, House, Ballina, " 0 0 0
Wes. Ilkington L.P.—Collected at St. Pancras, Arches, " 0 0 0
Chester Malm (Conway), " 0 0 0

RUMAN PRIZE FUND.
R.P. Fund, £25 0 0
A. B. H., " 0 0 0
American Social Dem. A.N. and M.N., " 0 0 0
Photographer, " 1 0 0
J. M., " 0 0 0
Sh., " 1 0 0
Collected by Subscribers, " 11 0 0
Levanovsky, " 0 0 0
Rookhouse, " 0 0 0
An American, " 0 0 0
A. Pomeroy Ruston, " 0 0 0
S. H., " 0 0 0
Collected by E. L. Marshall in Switzerland, 100 francs, " 10 0 0
J. P. Gould, " 1 0 0
B. Hartley, Dr. Kest, and Friends, " 1 0 0
P. R. Henderson, " 0 0 0
A few English Joiners, " 0 0 0
Working Men's Prisms, " 0 0 0
Independent Fallers and Glaziers' Union, " 0 0 0
All C.W. H., Branch 92, " 0 0 0
Collected at Gloucester's Shop, " 0 0 0
H. Compton, " 0 0 0
Henry Simon (Manchester), " 0 0 0
L. Independent M. Cabinetmakers, " 0 0 0
Collected at Sugarloaf Meeting, " 0 0 0
J. M., " 0 0 0
Collected by Mr. Shipman, " 1 0 0
A Group of Students, " 0 0 0
Collected at the U.R. Congress, " 0 0 0
A. R., " 0 0 0
Social Meeting at Hammer-smith Bridge, " 0 0 0
A. B. H., " 0 0 0
Miss E. Field, " 0 0 0
G. Delaney, " 0 0 0
Collected by Grinstead (Preston), " 1 0 0
Miss G. Maltby, " 0 0 0
Miss G., " 0 0 0
L. Goldsmith, Reg. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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BOGGART HO' CLOUGH.

No Surrender—The City Fathers Hesitate—Mrs. Pankhurst in Wig and Gown—A Constable trying to tell the Truth—The Superintendent Sick of his Job—Stevenson Square—Sunday in the Clough.

THE motto on the I.L.P. banners at Manchester is still "No Surrender." The local comrades, led by their untiring secretary, Nuttall, are working like Trojans. The funds roll merrily in though the expenditure rolls as merrily

might send a deputation to consult with the Parks Committee to find some way out of the difficulty. This has been universally condemned by the party. The Parks Committee are the aggressors and when they invite the I.L.P. to meet them it will be time enough to consider the matter; but for them to go cap in hand to the committee and ask to be received as a deputation would be fatal. Following this admission Councillor Phythian endeavoured to extract a promise from the I.L.P. men that the meetings would be stopped pending the finding of the committee. This at once brought Councillor Sutton to his feet with the declaration that no such undertaking could be given, whereas the gallery applauded, which brought upon the occupants a threat of expulsion. Councillor Arrandale also wanted both parties to stay their hands pending a settlement, and got sneered at for his pains by a fellow councillor as the representative of a body which was self-elected. He came the comic element. Councillor Hampson was not going to have the park, which had cost the city £15,000, destroyed by the action of a "rabble." He should attend the prosecutions and bear the evidence of the constables.

work in the S.A. and who disdained even to question the witnesses, thereby showing her contempt for the whole crowd of champions of law and order. Most of them thinking, too, of the bairns at home as only mothers can think. These were the defendants who met the astonished gaze of the prosecutors when it came their turn to be tried. The usual female frequenter of the court, is of the Jane Cakebread order, who arises into her skirt and begs and whines to be let off this once more. But these women! What could a prosecutor do before their quiet self-possession and dignity? How small everybody else looked by comparison. Happy is the movement which on occasion can produce such women.

On a back bench sat Miss Stacey and Miss Martyn. Wee betide the poor stipendiary when it comes the turn of these two to appear before him. Next to Dr. Pankhurst sat Tom Mann. Keir Hardie leaned on the corner of the press bench keeping the reporters and two constables in humour at his running fire of comments. He was serving his apprenticeship, for as these lines see the print he, too, will have gone to finish his education as an agitator. Russell Smart, Pete Curran, boasting of being "an old jail bird," Frances Littlewood sitting modestly in the back, all looked on; for the N.A.C. meeting in Manchester had adjourned that the members might see the proceedings for themselves.

Dr. Pankhurst has the reputation, doubtless well deserved, of being a terror to the bench. But now the bench are praying that when next Mrs. Pankhurst appears before them she may be defended by her husband. To be put right in points of law, on matters of etiquette, and to have your beautifully raised edifice

inch of it which wasn't occupied. Far as the eye could reach up the slopes, along the brow of the hill, down in the valley below, were masses of well-dressed, orderly people. No such gathering has been seen in Manchester in the lifetime of this generation. Dr. and Mrs. Pankhurst, accompanied by their children, drove up to the park gates in an open barouche, Keir Hardie and Miss Goulden occupying seats in the conveyance. All along Piccadilly and Rochdale Road the streets were lined with people, all with their faces towards Boggart Ho' Clough. Trams and conveyances of all kinds were crowded, and as the barouche sped along one continuous roll of cheering marked its passage. The Clarion scouts on their bicycles made an imposing show as they rode up, whilst sellers of Socialist literature did a big trade, though the supply of Labour Leaders tell lamely short of the demand.

On arriving at the park gates Mrs. Pankhurst and Keir Hardie walked together to the meeting-place, and no sooner had the accents planted on the outer heights seen them than they set up a cheer which rolled up the ravine and was re-echoed from the headland, and again and again renewed until the meeting-place had been reached. Keir had on his knickers and the shepherd tartan tweed cap, and until he got under way with his speech looked a bit pale but resolute. Mrs. Pankhurst, despite the weary load of the past few weeks beamed, as is her wont, on the cheering crowd. She took the chair, and after "England Arise" had been well sung, proceedings opened in right good earnest. A constable who looked as if he would rather be somewhere else informed the speakers that they were doing an illegal thing, for which they thanked him.

What a sight it was! One of the Manchester papers had said that the Parks Committee were praying for rain. Yet here was a perfect day. The sun shone his brightest, the skies were of their bluest, a gentle breeze laved the temples of those on the height, but could not penetrate to the sides of the Clough. How good natured the crowd were, how sympathetic, how enthusiastic. But now Mrs. Pankhurst is speaking, and all eyes are turned her way.

Listen. "Stipendiary Headlam adjourned the cases for a week to see what would happen to-day. What happens is that I and the other women who were before him on Friday are here doing the same thing as we were accused of doing before. Don't say you have heard cheering until you have heard 50,000 voices in Boggart Ho' Clough meet a challenge like this. When the echoes of the shout had died away Mrs. Pankhurst resumed: "Councillor Needham's friends say he is being boycotted. We as Socialists can sympathize with anyone who is boycotted. We know from painful experience what it means." Another great cheer. "Dr. Pankhurst," shouted someone. "Yes, for twenty-five years Dr. Pankhurst has been in the van of the democratic movement, and he knows what it is to be boycotted. Then came Keir, and there was another avalanche of cheering. What he said was a quaint mixture of sarcasm, sound teaching, and healthy defiance. The crowd laughed hugely as he rebuffed the chorus of "Rule Britannia" and twittered them on being a well-dressed "rabble."

The collection was £20 2s., and might have been double that amount with more collectors. The return journey was

proceedings, and on Wednesday a summons was granted against Keir Hardie, returnable on Tuesday next. It is rumoured that the Lord Mayor, the Town Clerk, Sir John Harwood, and several other prominent members of the Council attended, and advised the opposite course, but the Committee, proved obstinate, and so the fight is to continue. The I.L.P. committee has invited Sunman to attend next Sunday, 12th July, along with Mrs. Bruce Glasier.

It is said that the Parks Committee has been convened for Monday next, when a new bye-law will be framed prohibiting meetings in public parks. No such bye-law would ever pass the Council, and the fact that the committee, a month after the prosecutions were begun, is under



MRS. PANKHURST.

out, and the citizens of the city look on admiring and approving the gallant fight for the rights of citizenship against the usurpation of a few elected persons.

On Wednesday last the City Council discussed the situation, hostilities having been suspended by the bench to enable them to do so. In the gallery were the I.L.P. men in force to encourage those who did right and strike terror to the hearts of evil doers. Councillors Sutton and Butler, the I.L.P. representatives, wisely allowed the lead to be taken by a member of the parties responsible for the trouble. Councillor Vandrey moved that it be an instruction to the Parks Committee to give reasonable facilities for the holding of public meetings in Boggart Ho' Clough. He tried in his speech to straddle the fence as between the Parks Committee and the I.L.P., but in the end advised the dropping of the prosecutions. Councillor



J. NUTTALL.

Secretary Manchester and District I.L.P. (The man who makes the wheels go round.)

Samson seconded. Councillor Abbot moved as an amendment that a committee be appointed to consider the question, and report to next meeting of Council. Mr. Aubrey accepted this, which thereupon became the motion before the Council. Alderman Joseph Thompson seconded, whilst Councillor Plummer deprecated the idea of being coerced by popular clamour into yielding as a "right" what they might be graciously pleased to give as a "concession." Before election the citizens represent "public opinion." After election public opinion becomes the "clamour" of the mob, whilst "fellow-citizens" is translated to mean "the rabble." Electors will make note of this against the day of judgment.

After a manly outspoken speech from Councillor Sutton, Alderman Thompson found he had made a mistake in seconding the resolution, and his place was taken by Councillor Arrandale of the Trades Council. In the subsequent debate, Councillor Butler, in an evil moment of temptation suggested that if the resolution were carried the I.L.P.

made man who adores his Creator—with tears in his voice, besought the I.L.P. councillors not to compel him to vote against his conscience by allowing the motion to go to a division. For the rights of free speech he was prepared, sword on thigh, to make a descent on Boggart Ho' Clough, and there, single-handed, engage Chief Constable Malcolm Wood in a combat to the death. But then, he as a baronet couldn't desert the Parks Committee; his conscience wouldn't allow him to do that either, and in the end the poor baronet, with drooping plumes, sadly left the Council Chamber without voting. A Röntgen ray photograph of Sir John's conscience with its one eye on free speech and the other fixed on the Parks Committee would be rather a curio in its way. Then came Councillor Needham, whose sales, I regret to learn have, dropped from fourteen to four pigs—the honest man is a pork butcher—a weak. He was in pot valiant mood. The Parks Committee were in no difficulty. The I.L.P. were trespassers when they held meetings in the parks: there were plenty of other open spaces where they could let off gas and take collections, and so on. The voting showed 25 for the motion, 36 against, and 43 neutral. Thus the proceedings of the Parks Committee is endorsed by a fraction over one-third of the members of the Council. It is worthy of note that the division was not taken on party lines.

Fortified by this decision the prisoners went up for trial on Friday. Stipendiary Headlam presided, and was supported by an imposing array of magistrates. The court was crowded to excess, whilst policemen, mostly very courteous, were everywhere. It was a long weary wait in the corridors whilst the drunks and other habit and repute frequenters of the place were being disposed of. Mrs. Glasier, with her nerves at their highest tension, and the lines of her sensitive face drawn in a way which showed what was going on within, stood by Bruce, and thought of the weary six weeks of separation; for two weeks hence she, too, goes to Strangeways. Dr. Pankhurst, trying not to look excited, and mentally arranging scores of telegrams to the great dignitaries of state protesting against the injustice which he foresaw was about to be done to his wife and her fellow accused. (Why will people with highly strung nervous organisms get to the front when there is fighting work to be done? Why not borrow Sir John Harwood's Jesus conscience?) Mrs. Pankhurst outwardly chic, and all smiles and encouragement for her fellow conspirators. A glance at her next morning revealed what volcanic fires had been slumbering under that calm, smiling exterior. Mrs. Smalley, quiet and serious, but resolute, though under medical treatment; Mrs. Lily Bennet breathing defiance through a red bow at her throat; Mrs. Harker strong with the consciousness of the justice of the side she had taken, though suffering much from ill weakness; Mrs. Moller, trained for this



MRS. SMALLEY.

shattered, demolished, pounded, and pulverized to dust by a man is bad, but when this is done by a woman—good heavens. And it was done, and well done, by Mrs. Pankhurst.

It was the old story over again—the constables and the park ranger swearing to an orderly meeting, and a good address, but the crowd on leaving the meeting obstructed the free entrance of certain people who wanted to promenade on the main avenue. None of these people were forthcoming. "The people," said constable Parker "won't complain, and so we can't bring them here as witnesses." Fatal admission. Even the phlegmatic stipendiary, apparently the least interested party in the court, looked up at this. His mind, however, is made up, and he isn't going to change it. H'm. Constables in plain clothes had been sent in the hope of finding out something. "We had nothing to report" was the result. "We are expected," said Constable Harkness, sadly, "to speak the truth, and we try to do so." Honestly, the constables were trying to speak the truth, but had they spoken the whole truth it would have been disastrous to the prosecution, and so the most the poor man could do was to "try."

"What brings such great crowds?" asked Bruce Glasier of a sergeant. "I suppose they come expecting to see the police create a disturbance by arresting some one." "Then," said the ready-witted Bruce, "it is the police who are responsible. Don't you think the police should be withdrawn?" "I should like to be withdrawn" was the startling answer which astounded the ears of Mr. Headlam. "What did you say?" he asked in amazement, whereupon the answer was repeated firmly but respectfully. It was the last straw.

"Are these meetings to be continued," queried the stipendiary. "Yes," replied Mr. Cobbet, the prosecutor. "Mr. Keir Hardie is to speak next Sunday." "Then," said the stipendiary, "we will adjourn these summonses for a week, and it depends on what happens on Sunday what the result will be."

Twelve thousand people in Stevenson Square cheered themselves hoarse that same evening as the N.C. and the "prisoners" declared that wasn't a member of the I.L.P. that wasn't prepared to go to jail if necessary in defence of the sacred right of free speech. That is what happened on Friday.

Boggart Ho' Clough is a natural amphitheatre capable of seating 50,000 people. On Sunday there wasn't an



CHRISTOBEL PANKHURST.

even more of a demonstration than the outgoing one. And now we await to see what Stipendiary Headlam thinks of "what happened on Sunday."

The following letter from the Right Hon. A. J. Mundella, M.P., was telegraphed by Tom Shaw to Mrs. Pankhurst in time to be read at the meeting:

I am at a loss to understand the action of the Manchester Corporation, which is to say the least, incompetent. The Home Secretary declines himself to interfere, but I will see him personally, and press him to remonstrate if he can do no more.

Last Sunday Bruce Glasier was the speaker, and next Sunday Mrs. Glasier will be there.

On Tuesday afternoon a special meeting of the Parks Committee was held, when it was resolved to continue the

the necessity of making a bye-law to justify their conduct in a glaring instance of "jeddart justice," in which men were first hanged and then tried. In this case men are first tried and imprisoned, and then a bye-law is proposed to make the imprisonment legal.

The following is a complete list of the prosecutions up to date. In those cases where the fine has been paid the accused are working-men who ran the risk of losing their situation by going to prison.

LIST OF PERSONS SUMMONED AND HOW

- May 17, J. Harker, chairman, fined 10s. and costs, not yet paid.
May 21, Rev. General Root, speaker, fined 25s. and costs, not yet paid.
May 21, J. Harker, chairman, fined 25s. and costs, not yet paid.
May 21, C. H. Brierley, holder umbrella over Hall's head, fined 25s. and costs or a month, fine paid.
May 21, J. Harker, passed a note to Hall, fined 25s. and costs or a month, fine paid.
June 1, W. Twissdale, spectator, dismissed.
June 1, R. Smalley, spectator, dismissed.
June 1, G. Vowles, spectator, dismissed.
June 1, J. Harker, collector, not yet decided.
June 1, J. Harker, collector, not yet decided.
June 1, Mrs. Pankhurst, collector, dismissed.
June 1, Mrs. Pankhurst, collector, dismissed.
June 1, Fred. Brockhurst, speaker, fined 25s. and costs or a month.
June 1, Mrs. Pankhurst, speaker, not yet decided.
June 1, Mrs. Harker, collector, not yet decided.
June 1, Mrs. Smalley, collector, not yet decided.
June 1, J. Bruce Glasier, speaker, not yet decided.
June 1, Mrs. Pankhurst, collector, not yet decided.
June 1, Mrs. Harker, collector, not yet decided.
June 1, Mrs. Moller, collector, not yet decided.
June 1, Mrs. Bennet, collector, not yet decided.

Dr. Pankhurst's two charming girls, Christobel and Sylvia, have been collecting each Sunday, but the Parks Committee have not yet got their courage up to the point of summoning them.

It is again affirmed that Mr. J. H. Brown, one of our late I.L.P. men, of Halifax, has just been appointed Liberal agent for the Barnsley Division.

Portraits of prominent foreign delegates to the International Socialist Congress will appear in the Labour Leader issues of 28th July, and 1st and 8th August. See that you get these three numbers as they will be of permanent value.

James Connolly, 1st of Edinburgh, is secretary of the newly formed Irish Socialist Republican Party. In order to place before our readers an accurate statement of the principles and future policy of this new party we have arranged for a series of articles from Connolly, which will appear in the Labour Leader in due course.

Speaking at Boggart Ho' Clough on Sunday, Keir Hardie remarked that he had three years in the House of Commons, and the men who could live through that could endure three months of prison life. (Laughter.) One request he had to make was that if he was sent to prison he would ask the local committee of the I.L.P. to make him the speaker at the first meeting in the Clough after he came out. (Cheers.) If the police summoned him for speaking at that meeting he promised them further developments on Friday.

The Labour Leader for 1st and 8th August will be enlarged in order to give a full report of the International Congress proceedings.

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MEETINGS.

RELEASE OF LEONARD HALL

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SATURDAY, 11th JULY, 1896.

ASSEMBLY IN

SOUTHWALL STREET, STRANOWAYS,

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March in Procession to STEVENSON SQUARE

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Comrades and Sympathisers attend in your

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Crystal Palace Fete

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MEETINGS—(Continued).

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3rd ANNUAL DEMONSTRATION

On Sunday, 19th July, 1896.

Brass Band and Procession from Lathwell

to Slaithwaite. Mass Meeting 2.30 prompt. Mass

Meeting on Reservoir Banks.

Speakers: TOM MANN and others.

Chair taken at 3.15. Collection. Tea in

Slaithwaite Labour Club, 6d. each. If wet,

Meeting will be held in the Co-operative Hall.

Note—All unattached Socialists and Clarion

Cycling Clubs are earnestly invited to join

the Procession.—CHAS. WHITEHEAD, Gen. Secy.

RIGHT OF PUBLIC MEETING IN ROBERTS HOLE CLOUGH.

A GREAT DEMONSTRATION

IN THE CLOUGH

ON SUNDAY, 19th JULY, 1896, at 3 P.M.

SPEAKER:

KATHARINE ST. JOHN (MRS. BRUCE SMITH),

CATHARINE ST. JOHN (MRS. BRUCE SMITH),

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JAMES CHILDS, 18 New Street, Newton, near
Aberdeen, writes as follows: "I should be
very pleased to know who the friend is that has been
so kind to send me a Labour Leader on two or three
different occasions, and one being of last Saturday's
date, and which bears the Manchester post mark.
I have been pondering my mind trying to guess but
can think of no one, and as it is a paper I don't
see about here I think it ought to find a berth in
every home of the working man, as it contains some
very useful information of a democratic nature, and
I hope my unknown friend will unmask himself so
that the difficulty will be solved. Hoping that you
will publish this in your next issue. Thanking you
in anticipation.—JAMES CHILDS."

THE

Labour Leader.

Edited by ERIC HARDY.

God, give us men! A time like this demands
strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands:
Men whom the last for often does not kill;
Men whom the gods of other nations say:
Men who possess wisdom and a will;
Men who have honour: men who will not lie.

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SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1896.

TO OUR READERS.

COMPLAINTS frequently reach us of
newspapers refusing to supply the
LABOUR LEADER. A frequent excuse is
that they cannot obtain the paper on the
usual trade terms, or that they cannot
get it at all. Both these statements are
untrue. The LEADER is supplied to
wholesale agents on the most favourable
terms given by other weekly papers. It is
despatched from the printing office in time
to be on sale by EIGHT O'CLOCK on
FRIDAY MORNING in every retail news-
agent in Great Britain. Will news-
agents or customers who have any com-
plaint under any of the foregoing heads
kindly communicate with the business

and will always remain the instrument of the domination of a class or party? Or because we believe that the new society ought to be organised by the direct agreement of all concerned, from the circumference to the centre, freely, spontaneously, under the inspiration of the sentiment of solidarity and under the pressure of natural and social necessities, and because that if this organisation was made by means of decrees from a central body, either elected or a directorship, it will begin by being an artificial organisation, forcing and dissatisfying everybody, and it would end in the creation of a new class of professional politicians, who would seize for themselves all sorts of privileges and monopolies? It might easily be maintained with more justice that we are, if not the only Socialists, certainly the most thorough and logical, because we claim for every man, not only his entire portion of social wealth, but also his part in social power—that is to say, the real faculty of making his influence felt equally with that of others in the management of public affairs.

If we are Socialists, then it is clear that a congress from which we are excluded cannot honestly call itself "The Socialist Workers' Congress," and that it ought to take the particular title of the party or parties admitted to its deliberations. For example, none of us would think of mixing with a congress which would be called a "Social Democratic Congress" or a "Congress of Parliamentary Socialists."

But let us leave alone this question of nomenclature, and neglect also the discussion of the question, if the London Committee has properly interpreted the resolutions of Zurich. Let us go to the root of the matter. It is to the interest of all the enemies of our capitalist society that the workers should be united and solid in the struggle against capitalism, and that they should be conscious that this struggle is of necessity of an economic character. It is not because we ignore the importance of political questions. We believe not only that government—the state—is an evil in itself, but that it is the armed defence of capitalism, and that the people cannot take possession of their own property without passing over the bodies of its armed police—really or figuratively, according to circumstances. Thus we ought necessarily to occupy ourselves in the political struggle against government. But it may be owing to the difference of conditions and of temperaments of the peoples of various countries, or the fact that the relations between the political constitution and the conditions of the masses are very complicated, hard to adapt and less capable of being treated in a way that seems good to everybody, that politics are in effect a great source of division, and the fact is that the conscious workers in the different countries whom it would be easy to solidly unite in the economic struggle, are by politics broken up into many fractions. Consequently an understanding between all the workers who fight for their emancipation is not possible, save on economic ground—and it is this that is of most consequence, because political action of the proletariat, parliamentary or revolutionary, is equally futile so long as it does not form a conscious organised economic force. Every attempt to enforce a single political opinion upon the labour movement tends to its disintegration and stops the progress of its economic organisation.

The Social Democrats evidently desire to force upon the workers their special programme. It might almost be said that they want to prevent those who do not accept the decisions of their party from fighting for human emancipation! They have had in this direction more or less success—perhaps they will have more—but that can only take place at the expense of a general understanding among the workers, and certainly without desiring it, serving the interests of the middle classes. If Socialists would only remember the history of the old International, which certainly the old among them know better than it is generally related. There were plenty of insults between Marxists and Bakunists. The truth is that both sections wished to make its special

programme triumphant in the International, and in the struggle between Centralism and Federalism, between Statism and Anarchism, we neglected the class struggle and economic solidarity, and the International perished through it. To-day the Anarchists, though we owe to them in many countries the first Socialist trade unions, by a series of circumstances and errors which there is no need at present to examine, have not much influence—save in Spain—in the Labour movement. But this will not last long, and the Social Democrats would do wrong to reckon upon it.

Certainly the Anarchists will soon be brought by the logic of their programme and by the necessities of the struggle to put their strength and their hope in the international organisation of the masses of the workers.

those that believe as they believe, but that all shall be united in the economic struggle.

Then, if the Social Democrats persist in their attempt at military despotism, and thus sow dissension among the workers, may the latter be able to understand and bring to a glorious triumph the noble words of Marx: "Workers of the world, unite!"

Familiar words in a strange tongue always have a curious effect. The following is a translation of Burns' well-known lines, referred to approvingly by the *Poète Republicain* recently:

The rank is but the guinea stamp,
The man's the gold for a' that;
Le rang n'est que l'impression
De la guinée; c'est l'homme
Qui est l'or, malgré tout ça,
Malgré tout ça!

Adjournment of the discussion was more than once moved, but was rejected. The whole of the clauses were carried, and the House finally adjourned at twenty minutes past eight on Tuesday morning, having met all Monday night.

TUESDAY.

West Highland Railway Guarantee Bill. Second reading. Mr. Strachey moved an amendment preventing special financial assistance being given to Scotch railways. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the guarantee which the Government proposed of 3 per cent. on the cost of the railway, £260,000, and of £30,000 for a new pier, was for the purpose of developing the fishing industry of the Scotch Highlands. Amendment defeated by 835 to 67, and Bill read a second time. Conciliation (Trades Disputes) Bill. Second reading moved by Mr. Ritchie, who said that the Bill

Trade. Mr. Chaplin moved the second reading of the Locomotives on Highways Bill, which proposes to amend the law with respect to the use of locomotives on roads, with the object of providing the public with some such cheap and easy mode of transport as is so largely used abroad. A locomotive, as described by the Bill, is not to emit any visible smoke or vapour. After some favourable discussion the Bill was read a second time and referred to Standing Committee on Law.

WEDNESDAY.

Mr. Chaplin moved the third reading of the Agricultural Land Rating Bill. Mr. Asquith, in moving that the Bill be read that day three months, said that in his opinion the Bill was intended to compensate the landed interest for the Finance Act of 1894. It was not necessary from the fact that the average rates in county boroughs were 4s. 6d. in the £, and in rural districts only 2s. 3d. He entirely approved of the strenuous opposition which had been offered to the Bill. Mr. Whitely (Conservative, Stockport) said the Bill was repugnant to electors in towns and urban districts. If any Lancashire member denied this let them both resign their seats and take the vote of the electors. The question was not before the country at the last election. He believed the only sound and economical way of meeting the pressure in agriculture was by a large reduction of rates. The third reading was carried by 322 to 140.

THURSDAY.

The Home Secretary in reply to Mr. John Ellis, said the number of lives lost in coal mines from explosions was in 1890, 319; 1891, 76; 1892, 146; 1893, 176; 1894, 320; 1895, 76; first six months of this year, 198. Scotch Rating Bill, introduced by the Lord Advocate, provides for the same relief to Agricultural Rates in Scotland as was given by the Land Rating Bill in England. The plan of applying relief would, however, have to be different, as in Scotland rates were equally divided between owner and occupier. The method, therefore, would be to reduce the agricultural occupiers' rates by three-eighths and reduce his valuation to three-eighths. They proposed also to take a sum of £15,000 a year to form the nucleus of a completed districts board. For these purposes a yearly sum of £214,500 would be required. In Committee a resolution was carried by 255 to 75 authorising the expenditure of £3,000,000 out of the Consolidated Fund for the construction of a railway in Africa from Mombasa to Uganda. Coal Mines Bill. Second reading. The Home Secretary explained the provisions of the Bill. First, to give the Home Secretary special powers of amending the rules under the general Act which regulates such matters as description of lights or lamps used in a mine, description of explosives, mode of dealing with and storing them, watering and efficient damping of the mine, etc.; second, furnishing plans of abandoned mines; third, dealing with the check-weighing and truck system (this part of the Bill would be withdrawn as it was opposed); fourth, to give power to prohibit a certain class of explosives. Provision was made for arbitration if any objection was taken to the special rules laid down by the Home Secretary. Mr. Asquith warmly supported the Bill, and suggested that in place of the costly and dilatory procedure by arbitration it would be sufficient if the special rules were allowed to come into force after having lain for a certain period on the table of the House. Sir Charles Dilke said there was a good deal of exaggeration in the approval of the Bill, as it was a very slight one, and carried them only a little way. The Mines' Conference Bill contained thirty-three clauses and the present Bill only nine, two of which were to be dropped. Mr. John Burns urged the Home Secretary to eliminate the amendments of both masters and men in Committee, so that the Bill might be got through without delay. Bill then read a second time and referred to the Standing Committee on Trade.

FRIDAY.

Committee of Supply. Vote of £51,095 for the Foreign Office was agreed to after discussion as to affairs in Armenia, Crete, the Sudan Expedition, and Venezuela.

See our enlarged editions of 1st and 8th August for description account of the International Congress, by special correspondents, and illustrated by our own artist. Make sure of getting these numbers and order early.



One begs—and gets left; the other takes—and leaves.

Already eloquent signs of this can be seen. What will happen then? Will there be again two Internationals, warring in internal quarrels the strength which ought to be employed against the capitalist middle classes, and will they again end in killing each other?

We have no intention of demanding—far from that—that the different parties and schools should renounce their programme and their tactics. We hold to our own ideas, and we understand that the others will do the same. We only ask that division shall not be carried where it ought not to be; we demand the right for every worker to fight against capitalism hand in hand with his brothers, without distinction of political ideas; we ask that all shall fight as they think best, with

PARLIAMENTARY PENNICAN.

Monday, 29th June, to Friday, 5th July.

MONDAY.

UPON the motion of Mr. Balfour the suspension of the twelve o'clock rule was passed. Land Rating Bill. Report stage. Amendments of a technical character to the various clauses of the Bill were in every instance rejected by large majorities. They dealt principally with such questions as the division of rateable value between house and buildings and land; the local authority to whom payments from the Exchequer were to be made; the provision for appeals against assessment under the Bill, etc. The closure was frequently applied upon the motion of Mr. Balfour, although it was occasionally rejected by the Speaker.

recognised the existing boards of conciliation in the country, and would assist rather than interfere with them. It provided that where boards of conciliation did not at present exist the Board of Trade might take steps to create them; also in cases where differences existed, or upon the application of either of the parties to a dispute, the Board of Trade should intervene upon their own initiative and appoint a conciliator or board of conciliation. Sir Charles Dilke thought that where they had powerful trades unions there was no necessity for such a Bill. Mr. Pickard said the Bill would interfere with the wages of workmen. Employers and workmen alike believed they could settle their business more satisfactorily without the intervention of a third party. After further discussion, the Bill was read a second time and referred to the Standing Committee on

WOMEN AND MILKING.



An Edinburgh correspondent made me a newspaper cutting dealing with the question of women and farm labour. It appears from a statement made recently at a meeting of the acting committee of the Inverness Farmer's Society, that although, not so long ago, women took part in nearly all the work of the farm, there is now a difficulty in getting them to undertake farm labour of any kind. In some parts of the country farmers are getting their cows milked by men and boys.

The writer of the article recognises that there has, during the past fifteen or twenty years, been a gradual evolution in the condition of women in connection with manual labour of all kinds, and that although the introduction of machinery for certain parts of farm work will no doubt to a certain extent account for the changes referred to, there are, he believes, other and more deep-seated causes than that.

"Women," he says, "whether it be for their good or for their evil, are steadily leaving country work not only in the field but in the kitchen. People of moderate means in towns, even where girls are numerous, find it difficult to get a general servant. On the other hand shops in villages, towns, and cities, are crammed with young girls serving for three, five, and six shillings a week, and in many cases living in starvation so as to keep up at appearance. After they arrive at maturity they drift away somewhere, but certainly not into farm work, or domestic service. This is not by any means what it should be. In fact it is developing into a great social and economic problem. There are several branches of farm work not suited for women, and they are well out of these. But what objection can there be to milking cows? What objection can there be to washing or baking or cleaning a house? The ends of a woman's existence no doubt go beyond these, but practical work and a little manual labour will do her no harm, mentally or physically."

So many causes combine to bring about such changes that one can hardly venture to attribute them to any one particularly specified; but, apart from the fact that, the present day tendency being one of unrest and desire for amusement and excitement, both men and women are drawn away from the quiet of the country into the feverish bustle of the town, there are, I think, two reasons why women are apparently revolting against a purely domestic life whether in town or country. The first is that it has no limitation of the hours of labour. As the old rhyme has it, "a woman's work is never done." There is no part of the day when she can feel that she is her own mistress. Except when she has her "afternoon out" she feels that her whole time has been bought and paid for; that she must be at the beck and call of her employers morning, noon, and night.

And so, as women are beginning to long and to cry for liberty and freedom just as men are doing, they are willing to sacrifice even the prospect of a comfortable home life, whether in farm or domestic service, to the hardships which, however severe, are still associated with the idea of spare time that can be called their own. Perhaps one good result which may grow out of the changes which have brought so many women and girls into shops and factories may be to teach us eventually that all women workers have a right to some leisure time; that if an eight-hours' day is good for a man it is no less good for his wife or his maid-servant; and so we shall have to remodel and rearrange our domestic life accordingly.

The other reason which, I think, has, consciously or unconsciously, helped to drive women out of domestic service is the fact that what is regarded as peculiarly women's work in the house has too long been looked upon as something menial and degrading. The domestic servant is usually looked down upon as being almost of a lower caste, and the rising generation of young

women, better educated, perhaps, in these days of free education and school boards, than was that of the past, naturally rebels against such a condition of things, choosing rather the illusory dignity of outside work at starvation wages than comparative comfort with a fancied loss of self-respect. I believe the real foundation of this degrading of women's work lies in the unnatural discrimination made in the home training of boys and girls. Boys are allowed to grow up with the idea that they demean themselves by doing any such work as their sisters are constantly called upon to perform, that it is an act of condescension on their part to assist in any kind of house-work whatever, that in such matters their sisters are their servants whose services they are at all times entitled to demand; and in this way all outside paid work becomes glorified as something honourable, while house-work is debased. What wonder if the woman of to-day, who is so largely sharing man's outside labours, should also be now beginning to share his long-estimated and often openly expressed contempt for the work which once was entirely her own? The wonder would be if it were otherwise. Our social life is being turned upside down. It will take a good many changes yet before we finally bring order out of our chaos.

LILY BELL.

LIFE AND DEATH ON THE COALFIELDS.

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

I. Micklefield—In the Wake of a Tragedy—Widows and Orphans—£15,000 Subscribed—What will become of the Money?

ABOUT nine miles to the north-east of Leeds the traveller by the Hull express passes a little station named Micklefield. The station opens into a village composed of three or four rows of small flat-faced poor-looking houses, built, as usual in Yorkshire, in grey stone, some with gardens at the back and some without. A portion of the land in the neighbourhood is evidently used for allotments; here and there are pig-sties and a familiar small. A little way to the right rises the black framework of the Peckfield Colliery pit-head. In the middle of the day the place seems deserted, save for a few children here and there in quiet groups.

Micklefield was an exceedingly common-place and uninteresting village up to the last day of April this year. Then an explosion in the neighbouring pit lifted it up on a pillar of smoke and fire, and called the attention of the public, if not to the poverty of life on the coalfields, at least to the daily dread and peril of death there. Once more it was driven in upon the popular mind that however fortunate the lot of the collier might be in other respects, and however freely he lavishes mutton chops upon his bull-dogs and champagne upon himself, he spends his working day in constant danger of being poisoned to death at the far end of a dark hole in the ground. That, indeed, is the saddest ending he can look forward to in case of accident, for after-damp is very gentle, painless, and sure in its effects. But what must be the torture of the man who finds himself crushed against the floor by a fall from the roof, plumed to the side of the road by a derailed coach, slain in two by a wire cable, or burnt out of human shape by a sudden blast of flame? Even if the collier did live on champagne and fat geese, which is not true, he might fairly claim to have earned them.

It is now over three months since the Micklefield disaster, and the public has a short memory. It may be well to recall some of the facts, more especially as they illustrate very fairly the conditions under which the collier population of a large part of Yorkshire live and work. And the place has a further claim on the particular attention of Yorkshire people, because a very large sum of money has yet to be distributed amongst the families of those who lost their lives. I venture to say that if this money was subscribed for the purpose of relieving distress, and not for the purpose of providing the charity commissioners with employment, then this subject becomes one of interest to all parties concerned.

The explosion in the Peckfield pit was attended with all the usual mystery as to its cause. The colliery officials aver that this pit was always regarded hitherto as remarkably safe. On the other hand, I am informed that a disaster was foretold as certain some twelve months ago by experienced colliers, who did not hesitate to bring a charge of

carelessness against the management. I repeat the statements for what they are worth, and without offering any opinion one way or the other. What is certain is that 63 men lost their lives, of whom 41 were married, and 36 leave widows with families of young children. In all, there are 102 children under the age of 15 to be provided for; with their mothers, 136 in all. The families range in number from one child to eight and nine. Most of them are residents of Micklefield, though some live in the neighbouring villages of Garforth and Kippax. Of these Micklefield is comparatively quite new, having been built by the colliery company on their own land to accommodate their own workers. The men, no doubt, appreciate the advantage of living within five minutes' walk of their work, especially as Garforth and Kippax are some forty minutes off by road. Rents in the village range from 3s. 3d. to 5s. per week. There has been no abatement of rent so far as I could discover made in the case of any of those families from whom the only breadwinner was so suddenly taken.

I arrived in Micklefield on a sunny morning in June, and received a comprehensive and rather appalling general direction from the stationmaster. "You want to see some of the widows?" he said. "Well, you'll find them in any street, pretty near every house you come to." For various reasons it may be better not to give the names of those I talked to, nor will space permit me to give their sad stories at any length. The following may be taken as typical cases:

Mrs. A., aged 65, shared a house at 3s. 6d. a week rent with her married daughter and one grandchild. Her husband, like herself, was close upon the three score years and ten, and had been so unwell since Christmas that nearly all his wages had gone for medicine. As both the old man and the young had been working only 2½ to 3 days a week for months past, it may be imagined that this was no light burden. As for herself, Mrs. A. had no plans whatever. In a place like Micklefield every housewife has to do her own work. There was no washing, cleaning, or anything of that kind to be had, and even if there was she was not strong enough at her age for much of it. She had had two payments of 5s. since her husband was killed from the Sickness and Accident Fund at the colliery, to which he had, of course, subscribed, because it was stopped off his wages at the time. When did she get the first 5s. Saturday week. (On June, and five weeks after the disaster.)

Mrs. B., her daughter, a wife, hopeless-looking woman, looking older than her years, said she had been married four years and had one child, who was now visibly playing on the floor. For him she received 2s. 6d. a week, commencing on 6th June, as well as 5s. for herself. The main income of this household was, therefore, 13s. 6d. a week, out of which they paid 3s. 6d. rent, and had 9s. left wherewith to feed and clothe three persons. She was told that this fund would last about twelve weeks longer, and how much they would get after that she did not know. She understood there was another fund at the colliery, from which they should receive about 2s. each. No, she did not know when they would receive it, but hoped sometime. She did not wish to complain, but the money would be very useful just now.

Expressing a wish that something more substantial might be done for them, and, speedily, I went a little higher up the street. "No, sir, there's been no one lost out of here, thank God," was the reply at the next house I called at: "but you might look in next door and talk to Mrs. C."

Mrs. C. wore the utterly broken-down and elderly look of one for whom the world had proved too hard. Her face was thin, worn, and sorrow, her hair gathered up into an untidy wisp, her clothing far from clean. On the floor sat a chubby little fellow of ten months, his fat face very sore and very dirty. He was the youngest of six, and the oldest was twelve years of age. She had been married for fourteen years, and had lived at Kippax, whence her husband walked three miles to his work up to four months ago. Latterly he had been working only two days a week, but she thought that their average income during their married life would have been about £1 a week when he was in work. She also had received two payments of 5s. and 3s. 6d. for each child. She did not look more than thirty, but it was easy to see that excessive child-bearing, household drudgery, and bitter poverty had broken her spirit.

Mrs. D. was quite another type, younger, stronger, and smarter looking. But when she had only two children. They had, she said, been "doing dreadful bad," and only the Tuesday before the accident she had urged her husband to leave the district altogether. The Saturday before he lost his life all he had to bring home was 3s. 4d., and all

their rent alone was 4s. Other weeks his earnings had been 2s. 6d. for the whole week. She was taking two lodgers, and did not wish to leave, at least until the garden produce had been gathered in.

But, undoubtedly, the saddest case which came under my notice was that of a woman out of whose house the hand of death had suddenly snatched no less than three. Her husband, a lad they had reared, and a lodger, had all gone down the shaft that morning, and she never saw them again, for the babe she held in her arms was born that very day. This was the eighth child living, and for a long time her husband had worked only two days a week. Her rent was 3s. 6d. a week, and a strip of allotment cost 5s. yearly.

These families were supplied with coal from the pit-head, about a quarter of a mile away, at the rate of 6s. 4d. a ton delivered, or 5s. 6d. if delivered. Bottom men are supplied at 5s. 6d. delivered. It may be remarked that the price paid the men for getting the same quantity of coal, after deductions for dirt have been made, is 1s. 2d. to 3s. per ton, so that the firm charges a profit of 50 per cent. or more for passing the stuff through their hands.

The main point which I wished to make clear, however, was the very important one of the distribution of relief. As already indicated, it was not at all evident that the funds which ought to have been at the disposal of the bereaved families were administered with a due regard to their pressing needs. There may have been reasons for this which were not evident to me, but it is a fact that the Sickness and Accident Insurance Fund, towards which 3d. a week was stopped out of each man's wages, was not drawn upon for five weeks after the disaster occurred. And yet another fund, the Widows and Orphans, to which the men contributed 1d. a week, and which amounted to about £6 for each widow, had not been touched at all on the eighth week. These funds, be it noted, were the men's own property, having been deducted from their weekly wages at the office before they were paid. On inquiry at the cashier's office I was informed that the latter fund could not be distributed until the committee which had charge of it should meet. But on the face of it one is forced to wonder why the committee did not meet weeks before. With these facts in mind, and remembering also that in the case of other colliery accidents, such as that recently at Thornhill Lees (also in Yorkshire), it is impossible to keep free from some misgivings as to the ultimate disposal of the huge relief fund which has been accumulated by public subscription for these destitute families in Micklefield. A sum of about £15,000 has been collected, chiefly by the newspapers, and only voted in trustees. Is this, like so many other funds of the same sort, to be doled out in such niggardly portions that long before it is exhausted the children who should have benefited by it are grown up, and the widows whose distress it was intended to relieve are either dead or married again? If so, I venture to think that the purpose for which the public gave with such warm-hearted generosity will have been defeated. But that such a danger exists is amply proved by the history of the Victoria disaster fund, the Tonder pit explosion, the Thornhill Lees, and many other relief funds.

There is here, of course, no question of dishonest dealing, but simply of lack of intelligent sympathy, of that deplorable middle-class habit of mind which regards the workers as mental and moral infants, to be carefully preserved from all temptation to extravagance, even if what is virtually their own has to be held back from them. I have more than once heard it put forth as a maxim born of wise experience, that the sooner a working-man's widow is forced to do something for herself the better for her. Hence, the less assistance she receives the better for her; the greater the powers of self-reliance, etc., etc. She will develop. Of course a man may act on this principle in the disposal of his own money if he wishes, though in the case of a woman in her own class he probably would not act on it. 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3.L.P. Notes and News.

Notes should reach us on Tuesday. Only correspondence received at our Glasgow address on Wednesday morning can be treated in some week's issue.

LONDON.—Brixton S.D.F. has passed a resolution of regret that members of the S.D.F. should so far forget what was due to their organization and themselves in the matter of conducting themselves, in reference to the action of members of the S.D.F. at a recent I.L.P. meeting at Fochham Rye.

—Woolwich: At last Sunday's meeting (Muggeridge, speaker) 15s. was collected for Leonard Hall's wife and family. Lewis, 103 Charlton Lane, elected financial secretary, ex J. Kerr, resigned. J. Kerr and J. Ansley closed as branch delegates to the International Congress.—The I.L.P. have come to the conclusion that Socialism and anarchy are not easily assimilated, and for that reason have tendered a quarter's notice to landlord Lockhart, with a view of removing to a larger and more comfortable premises with more agreeable surroundings at Bazaar Hall. This is not being done to ease the branch of any superfluous capital, but in order to get headquarters *rest free*, which is quite possible if members of the branch will attend on Friday next, 17th July, when full particulars of a very promising scheme will be divulged. It is necessary, however, before any decisive action can be taken, for a majority of the members to be present on that evening, and it is earnestly hoped they will attend in full strength, at 9 o'clock prompt.

—Tom Mann will repeat the experiment of holding a mass meeting under the auspices of a number of branches grouped for the purpose, on Sunday next, 12th inst., at 3.30 p.m. in Haverstock Park, Hammersmith. It is hoped the West London comrades will turn out and make this gathering at least as much a success as the meetings which have preceded it. We are also endeavouring to get the *Leader* into the Free Library. We are expecting opposition from the Council, but we shall probably need determination to wait on them, so should be glad if you or any of your readers could inform us what free libraries in London and the provinces show the *Leader*.—H. QUINN, Brix. Secy.

BRADFORD.—The Grillington men tried a new pique for their usual weekly meeting on Thursday. The place chosen is at the bottom of Washington Street, being in all respects an admirable one, and a large crowd gathered round to hear Ald. F. W. Jowett, Comrade Froggart presiding. The work that is being done in the Bradford Ward must tell a tale in course of time. Their Sunday morning meetings continue to grow: Comrade Goodison presided last Sunday morning and Comrade Morley of Halifax, who was in the form, was the speaker. Subject: "War, its causes and cure." Five dozen Denis Hind's pamphlets were sold. The South Ward men do intend to be caught napping, and a fine list of speakers are announced for several ensuing Sundays. J. W. Byrnes of the S.D.F. was the speaker last Sunday. The usual meeting was held on Saturday at the bottom of Morley Road. J. Bach of Ecclehill gave a splendid address on "Politics." Comrade Minty also addressed the meeting. J. M. Holdsworth being chairman. The weather being rather cold after the rain had its effect on the audience which was quite as large as usual. Comrade Joe Hayhurst made his first appearance as a lecturer at the Labour Church on Sunday, and gave two excellent addresses on "What would Christ say if He came to Bradford?" and "Made in Germany."—I would like to remind all *Leader* readers in this district that to-morrow (Sunday) is the fourth anniversary of the formation of the Bradford Labour Church and quite a galaxy of talent will be present including J. Keir Hardie (if not in goal), Rev. R. Roberts, Comrade E. R. Hartley, and I hope B. B.

BOLTON.—The fine weather has been very favourable to our-door meetings for some time now, consequently Miss Martyn spoke in the Town Hall Square twice last week to large and appreciative audiences. It is simply superfluous to say that the spoke well. Her exquisite treatment of her subjects, "The Living Wage" and "Turks," delighted the Socialists, and made both opponents and enquirers listen with deep and respectful attention. Sam Hodgkinson presided the first night and James Sims the second, when a resolution was passed calling upon the M.F. for Bolton to support any questions put to the Government concerning the legality of the offences with which members of the I.L.P. now in Strangeways Gaol for refusing to pay what they believe to be an illegal fine are charged, and also the legality of the treatment they have received during imprisonment. Some six hundred people held up their hands in favour of this and one obnoxious Liberal against it. The East Ward group had previously passed the same resolution.—Ramsworth was again to speak on Sunday morning and address was given by Joe Gray as speaker, who also compiled the platform at the Labour Church in the evening

with the query "Is our Movement of God?" which he made most interesting. But while everybody was attentive to the speaker, in every mind the question was being asked, "How have they gone on in Bognor Hole Clough?" It is felt that the results will not be limited to the Manchester area, already there has been a considerable number of changes on the Town Hall Square here which, if carried out, prevent meetings on the spot where they have been held for years.—J. B.

MOTTINGHAM.—On Sunday, 5th inst., the I.L.P. closed the first half of their outdoor season with the veteran Matthew Goss, who had been successful in dodging a summons issued at Liverpool, and was therefore at liberty to give us two capital speeches morning and evening. Pity it is that his morning lecture was but sparsely attended, but when I.L.P. men fail to turn out the lecturer was in his best form. Parliak branch has again fixed for August. Twelve weeks have now passed since the brushmakers struck work, and Mr. Todd, secretary of the Scottish Brush-makers Protective Association, and Mr. J. Wilson, secretary of the United Society, visited London with a view to amalgamation, and so far it promises all right. The Trades Council decided to intervene between the men and employer, with a view to speedy settlement. The meeting held at 11 o'clock refused to meet there, as it was still open in the old street. There were also blacklegs, principally from Manchester, are kept.—Central Branch held a meeting at Cranstonhall on Sunday. Tom Henderson was the speaker.—Mrs. Pearce resigned presidential membership of the Council, and at present is in the office of the Scottish Land Restoration Union held on Saturday 4th July at 56 George Square Glasgow, Balfour Brindley in the chair, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That any relief to the landowner coming from Imperial funds only enables the landowner to correspondingly increase rent, and does not in any way benefit the farmers or labourers, we unhesitatingly condemn the proposal in the Agricultural Rating Bill for Scotland at present before the House to hand over £125,000 to the relief of Agricultural rates, and call upon the Scottish members of Parliament to resist and oppose the passing of the measure, and further, we affirm that land monopoly and the consequent excessive rent is a social agricultural disease, and that the readiest and most equitable method to the removal of this grievance is to abolish land monopoly by taxing the value of land apart from improvements."

SHREFFIELD.—About a fortnight ago the Sheffield District Council of the I.L.P. passed a resolution referring to the proceedings now taking place in Manchester, dealing with the right of public meeting in Bognor Hole Clough, and to the imprisonment of Leonard Hall and Fred Brookhouse. The Council decided to send a letter to the Right Hon. A. J. Mundella. Mr. C. Stuart Wortley and Sir H. Vincent have replied. Mr. Mundella says: "I duly received the resolution of your Council. I am at a loss to understand the action of the Council, and I am not at all sure that it is the most indefensible. The Home Secretary declares himself unable to interfere, but I will see him personally on the subject and press him to reconsider, if he can do no more."

LEEDS.—The secretary for the Leeds and District I.L.P. is now Francis Macpherson, 73 New Briggate, to whom all party correspondence should be addressed. The Leeds are going to the International Congress: Joe Clayton goes for the District Council (Leeds I.L.P.); Dr. Watt for Central Branch; Mary Foster, B.A., for East Branch; Isabella O. Ford for Leeds Tailors Union, and Arthur Shaw (late I.L.P. candidate for South Leeds) for the Trades Council. F. Macpherson is also going for one of the I.L.P. branches.—Yorkshire Bakers and Confectioners' Union, at their half-yearly meeting, voted two guineas for the assistance of the Leeds Bakers' Labour Club.

KIRKLEY.—Mr. Edward M'Hugh of Liverpool has been lecturing here for the Single Taxers and after the lecture was over indulged in some very slighting and acrimonious remarks respecting the I.L.P. For this he was immediately brought to book by Comrade Horner, who defended ally and pointed out to the lecturer that there was no necessity for him to attack the I.L.P., and if he intended to do so, he would have to meet with opposition from them.—The strike still continues. There seemed to be some likelihood of its coming to an end, as a lot of the men had returned to work, but there is still great dissatisfaction and it is probable many of them will again come out.—GROSVOR.

MOSLEY AND DISTRICT I.L.P.—There are two Independent Labour Clubs in the borough of Mosley. The branches in Mosley needed from the County Federation to form a separate branch of the N.A.C., owing to the heavy expense which they incurred by being connected with the respective federations. Oh! they could work as well as a separate branch. Would you believe it! They have not had a lecture or open-air meeting in Mosley this year. It tempts one to suggest "Lost Stolen, or Strayed away, Mosley and District I.L.P. any one restoring the same to the undersigned will be handsomely rewarded." In my opinion club life is a hindrance to the propagation of Socialism.

GLASGOW.—Some comrades of the Barrhead Branch visited Niddall on Wednesday 1st July, and addressed a meeting on the village green. There were about 50 persons present. Comrade William Blak opened the meeting with a short speech, pointing out the justice of Socialism. Comrade T. C. Smith then addressed the meeting, and pointed out the Government in their budget, the Education Bill, Agricultural Rating Bill, etc. After showing that the interests of the workers were furthered from the thoughts of the political jugglers, and that their claim to better employment, with better wages, and better hours, was only a matter of time, which would be secured if the private trader against the Co-operative movement. He pointed out that the

private trader believed that the "Survival of the Fittest" was the soundest theory, and now when their own weapon, competition, had been turned against them to their defeat, and had proved to the world that the private trader was not the fittest to survive, they thought it to make their voice heard, and their influence to pull the public and blindly on another plank of their own platform, namely, freedom of contract. Comrade Robert Murray then addressed the meeting and said that in this movement against Co-operation we had much to thank our opponents for, because they were very proving to the Co-operative himself that Co-operation was to a large extent Socialism—at least it had the germ of Socialism embodied in it.—*Fraser*—society can be had at the Labour Leader office, 66 Brunswick Street, price one penny. Miss C. E. D. Martyn, editor *Fraser*, lectured as follows:—"The Socialists' subject is 'Where There is no Place.' The hall was filled and the lecturer was in his best form. Parliak branch has again fixed for August. Twelve weeks have now passed since the brushmakers struck work, and Mr. Todd, secretary of the Scottish Brush-makers Protective Association, and Mr. J. Wilson, secretary of the United Society, visited London with a view to amalgamation, and so far it promises all right. The Trades Council decided to intervene between the men and employer, with a view to speedy settlement. The meeting held at 11 o'clock refused to meet there, as it was still open in the old street. There were also blacklegs, principally from Manchester, are kept.—Central Branch held a meeting at Cranstonhall on Sunday. Tom Henderson was the speaker.—Mrs. Pearce resigned presidential membership of the Council, and at present is in the office of the Scottish Land Restoration Union held on Saturday 4th July at 56 George Square Glasgow, Balfour Brindley in the chair, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That any relief to the landowner coming from Imperial funds only enables the landowner to correspondingly increase rent, and does not in any way benefit the farmers or labourers, we unhesitatingly condemn the proposal in the Agricultural Rating Bill for Scotland at present before the House to hand over £125,000 to the relief of Agricultural rates, and call upon the Scottish members of Parliament to resist and oppose the passing of the measure, and further, we affirm that land monopoly and the consequent excessive rent is a social agricultural disease, and that the readiest and most equitable method to the removal of this grievance is to abolish land monopoly by taxing the value of land apart from improvements."

KIRKLEIGH.—On Sunday last a large audience gathered in the Manors at 3.30 p.m. to hear the very able address by Mr. C. T. Tawse, of Rotherham, on "The Application of Machinery." Though the address was perhaps too long, the clearly put social effects of mechanical invention must have left a deep impression on the mind of every one. There is still one relic to be got rid of, a collection of 5s. 10d. was taken at the close. The same comrades lectured for the Southern branch in the Harrison Park in the evening. Comrade Shalard, of London, has been lecturing during the past week in this district, and finished his lecture on a lecture in Inverthill Park at 6.30 p.m. on Sunday first, subject, "Christ and Barabbas." This is in addition to the usual meeting at 2.30 p.m. in the Meadows, and for the purpose of opening up a new and important district. The question of committees and the St. Outhbert's Co-operative Store takes place on Thursday the 16th inst. in the Synod Hall, and it is hoped that comrades voters will turn up in full force and good time to support the Socialist candidates, Gail, Hood, and Nichol.

KIRKLEIGH.—The irrepressible Sandy Hadden spoke on Fabian's *Labour* last Sunday. There was a long meeting going on a few hundred yards distant, but Sandy spoke to both audiences—with ease—much to the evident annoyance of the conductor of the "other" meeting. Sandy was in his form, and with few exceptions, he held his audience for over an hour and a half. The meeting was the most successful this season. *Leaders* and *Orators* cleared out, and many pamphlets sold, followed by a record collection and two new members made. Long may they were! The night previous Sandy spoke to a good audience at Dalkeith Road, and from what I hear the "Manchester man" is likely to break out in strange places. Sandy had the honour of having his name taken by the sergeant of police. Dalkeith Branch, I am glad to report, is on the increase.—HOBBS.

TOM MANN IN SOUTH WALES.

Successful Meetings.

THE series of meetings held under the auspices of the I.L.P., Railway-men's Union, and Miners' Association, and addressed by Comrade Tom Mann, proved even to an adverse critic a faithful representation of the trend of public opinion in South Wales. The delivered address in the Town Hall, and in the Public Hall, 4th inst. Much enthusiasm was exhibited, and a large number, we observe, attended out of curiosity, and also many Liberals determined to be unconvincing, left the meeting to think. So many did Tom Mann's address convince them that the Government apparently couched the paper question with as forward speculation. "It is enough." The Rev. John Hall, in his presidential address, gave a masterly address for Socialism, he being a convert. He paid a high eulogy to the *Leader* and *Fraser*, and said that the Socialists were supported by Mr. Tom Mann, I.L.P. member of the Periodic Branch, Rev. J. Wells Evans, Fench, and our secretary. The Rev. John Hall is shortly removing into Llan-

shion. It will prove their gain and our loss. Good luck and long life to him! A demonstration of railwaymen, miners, and others was held on Sunday morning in a field adjacent between Nelson and Treherria. There was a very creditable attendance of all sections. Mr. Henry Davies, mining lecturer and president of the Treherria Branch, presided, and delivered a sympathetic address on "Trade-unionism," followed by the organizing secretary of the Railwaymen's Union (R. Bell, Cardiff). Tom's speech was the event of the morning, and his audience at once closed up and very anxiously packed; a collection taken reached the sum of £1 15s. 9d. In the afternoon Tom gave special concert, and fulfilled an engagement by preaching an orphan fund sermon (Railwaymen's Union) at Navigation, presided by a pleader, the Forty-first turn band being in attendance. There was a crowded audience in the open-air chapel, a good collection being made. Tom's sermon was very much appreciated, the local reverend, exclaiming it was just his ideal, he being considered of very advanced views. A large congregation attended this as their third meeting. There is good ground for the belief that Tom will have a very successful season, and that the noble cause you have at heart will be much strengthened in the district.—Yours faithfully, ALFRED EDWARDS.—The audience was exceptionally interested, and the various points were very loudly applauded. The meeting from every point of view, was a magnificent success. A remark passed under the meeting, "This will kill the Progressive League." Again, as in the morning, the meeting considered the Russian strike, and the Russian Government, was passed, and a collection taken, and taking into consideration the position of the collector the sum realized, viz., 15s. 9d., was a fair return. The money will be forwarded to Felix Volkovskiy, 40 Oude Tempelstraat.—A meeting of the other branches was held at Aberdare on Monday, 6th inst. in furtherance of Trade-unionism. Alderman D. Morgan presided. Messrs. F. D. Rids Parker, Esq., and some I.L.P. members supported. Tom Mann was the principal speaker, and before his lecture was given he delivered a masterly exposition of Trade-unionism, Collectivism, Individualism, Liberal and Conservative parties. Hearty applause was frequently given as Tom drove home the facts for the purpose of which he had been engaged. Again the resolution of our comrades in Russia was explained and unanimously carried. A collection amounted to £1 15s. 9d. Twelve cheers were given at the close. In the evening Comrade Mann, Tom Jones, secretary, Fabian Society, Glasgow University; Dr. Rhys Jones, Cardiff (chairman), Comrade from Merthyr and Treherria, arrived at Merthyr. They were met by a goodly number of Socialists and others. Marching in two and threes, and the local band proceeding with lively strains, a march commenced to the town. A large number of eight-noon crowded the thoroughfares. There was a good attendance at the meetings in David's Hall. The esteemed doctor presided. Excellent addresses followed. The strike of Russian formed part of Tom Mann's magnificent address, and as in other places a resolution of sympathy and support, and condemnation of the Russian Government, was passed. The collection taken realized 14s. 7d., making a grand total of £5, which was duly forwarded. Three cheers for the same were most heartily given. A committee afterwards conferred with I.L.P. branch being formed at the station, a friendly supper being present. Hearty cheers followed. The literature secretary complained of his inability to almost carry his heavy books to the first meeting. Aberdare was the last book, however, upwards of £3 worth being sold.

The Labour Glas-works are rapidly being built at Albi. A series of meetings for their promotion is arranged, at which Guesde, Viviani, Jauries, and other deputies will speak.

The Hyde Park Demonstration to be held on 25th July in favour of International Peace, will be addressed by several representatives of the foreign delegations to the Congress. Portraits of the speakers will appear in the Labour Leader of 25th July which will be a special number and enlarged. It is expected that this will be the largest demonstration in favour of Peace ever held in London.

"ROT-GUT."

(A stirring narrative, the truth of which is vouched for by Wm. Alexander, Blackhead-on-Bu)

LATELY my old friend Norton called on me. He had been a long time in the Colonies. Of course he told me about his adventures. He had had several narrow escapes from death, and when I congratulated him he laughed and said, "Yes, I've had one or two shaves, but never enough to get really scared." "Come," I answered, "what about that case you were in in North Queensland, when you didn't dare move for fear of the snakes inside, or leave it because of the black fellows waiting to eat you outside?" "That was bad," he replied, "but it was only for two days, and I never quite lost hope. Now, I came across a dock worker case, where a man was faced to face with death, not for two days but twenty, but for over a hundred. Fanny death sitting, lying, eating, drinking, sleeping with you for months; so rampant from anxiety, so chance of forgetting your doom, so flashes of hope, so rush of action or fear for money, only a chance of despairing attempt to hope foredoomed to fail! Ah! old chap, that is torture that can break the courage of the prudent and most self-reliant." "An awful picture," I said, "but, of course, it's all imaginary." "No," he answered, "it's a fact, and the fear the man felt was all due to a physical cause, and was so intense that his look made one shudder with pity and horror." "You are pulling it on," I said, "let's hear all about it." "Well," he replied, "don't make fun of me like most other folks who think they're clever. Remember I've seen the thing and you haven't." I wondered at his heat, and promised to believe anything he told me. Then he went on: "This case was about a potent medicine, called *Rot-Gut*, but it was not a medicine, it was a drug. You're just like the rest, and as wrong too. Did you never hear of 'Fifty-Rot-Gut'?" "No," I said, "it is a special kind of fishing line." "In a way it is," he went on, "storekeepers use it to fish for customers with, and the darts for catching men's souls." "What do you mean?" I exclaimed. "It's what passes as whisky in country in the Colonies," he continued, "and its name means that it kills at 40 rods. It's a fearful toxin, but the poor fellows have to drink it, or nothing will save them, and it is in debt to the storekeeper, he sees they do drink it, and after a time the heavily stoned creates a craving for it. Now what I'm going to tell you happened at Waiuku, an up-country village in the Province of Hawke's Bay, in the North Island, New Zealand. I was working there for a spell in a sawmill. There was a young shepherd named Sinclair on a neighbouring run, who came occasionally to the village for a flag. It was about a year ago that I first saw him. He was a fine fellow, and he was in debt to the storekeeper, he saw they do drink it, and after a time the heavily stoned creates a craving for it. Now what I'm going to tell you happened at Waiuku, an up-country village in the Province of Hawke's Bay, in the North Island, New Zealand. 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